

Town Meeting



U.S. Pat. Off.

BULLETIN OF AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR
BROADCAST BY STATIONS OF THE AMERICAN BROADCASTING CO.



Reg. U.S. Pat. Off.

Which Way America — Fascism, Communism, Socialism, or Democracy?

Moderator, GEORGE V. DENNY, JR.

Speakers

LEON M. BIRKHEAD
MARTIN EBON

NORMAN THOMAS
RAYMOND MOLEY

(See also page 13)

COMING

—March 23, 1948—

**Should the President's Civil Rights Program
Be Adopted?**

—March 30, 1948—

**Is Universal Military Training Necessary for
Our Defense?**

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CONTENTS



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THE BROADCAST OF MARCH 16:

"Which Way America — Fascism, Communism, Socialism, or Democracy?"

Mr. DENNY	3
Mr. EBON	4
Mr. BIRKHEAD	6
Mr. THOMAS	8
Mr. MOLEY	11
THE SPEAKERS' COLUMN	13
QUESTIONS, PLEASE!	16



THE BROADCAST OF MARCH 23

"Should the President's Civil Rights Program Be Adopted?"



THE BROADCAST OF MARCH 30:

"Is Universal Military Training Necessary for Our Defense?"



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BULLETIN OF AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR

GEORGE V. DENNY, JR., MODERATOR



MARCH 16, 1948

VOL. 13, No. 47

Which Way America—Fascism, Communism, Socialism, or Democracy?

Moderator Denny:

Good evening, neighbors. Your Town Meeting celebrates its 500th broadcast here tonight. We owe a debt of gratitude to hundreds of men and women who helped to make it a success, but particularly to Mr. John Royal of the National Broadcasting Company whose Blue Network, now ABC, made it possible for the first seven years, and to Mr. Mark Woods, president of the American Broadcasting Company and its affiliated stations who have carried on in bringing Town Meeting to an ever greater audience since 1942. Eleven hundred and seventy-six speakers from all walks of life have taken part in these 500 programs over the past 13 years.

Norman Thomas, who appeared on the first program, holds the record with a total of 21 appearances. H. V. Kaltenborn comes next with a total of 17, while Major George Fielding Eliot runs a close third with 16 appearances.

Nearly a million pieces of fan mail have been received by Town Hall since the program started. Approximately 850,000 people have attended these broadcasts in person here in Town Hall and on tour, and you listeners have bought nearly three million copies of the Town Meeting Bulletin containing the complete program text.

Literally thousands of Town Meeting discussion groups have sprung up in clubs, homes, schools, churches, and colleges throughout the country. In Columbus, Ohio, the Columbus Town Meeting has flourished for ten years under the leadership of Mrs. Homer Frye and her associates.

A Junior Town Meeting League, sprung up simultaneously under the impetus of Town Meeting by high school teachers of social sciences, now boasts a membership of more than five thousand. Town Meetings patterned after this one have been organized in China,

Canada, Australia, the Philippines, Japan, Germany.

We've made our share of mistakes and we'll continue to make them, but with your help we believe we shall continue to improve. As we told you from the first, our aim is not to solve problems but to throw light upon them so that you, the American people, may see them a little more clearly and understand them a little better and make up your own mind on what you think should be done about them.

Tonight's program will be no exception. Mr. Moley, Mr. Thomas, Mr. Birkhead, and Mr. Ebon will give us the benefit of their thinking on the question, "Which Way America — Fascism, Communism, Socialism, or Democracy?"

If you should wonder why we are not presenting advocates of fascism and communism at this time, I'll give you the same answer I gave Mr. Eugene Dennis, secretary of the Communist Party. The position of Town Hall and Town Meeting has been made abundantly clear on this question many times. It is unalterably opposed to totalitarianism in any form, no matter what's it's called and the only types of fascism and communism we know today are complete totalitarianisms. We are not impressed by the propaganda demands of the advocates of totalitarianism to use the principles of democracy to advance the cause of a form of government which

would destroy those principles. (Applause.)

We'll begin our discussion tonight with a gentleman who is not an advocate of Communism but is one of the ablest students of how it works throughout the world. He was, until recently, information officer of the State Department. His recently published book, *World Communism Today*, has been highly praised by most competent reviewers. I give you Mr. Martin Ebon. (Applause)

Mr. Ebon:

It may interest you to know that the Communist Party, when I wrote to Mr. Dennis, called me a notorious anti-Communist. I am proud to be called an anti-Communist and I'm proud to be called notorious by the Communist Party of the United States. (Applause)

The greatest danger today is not that America will go either communist or fascist but that it may go in both directions at once. That is not going to happen right away. We're likely to have a comfortable little recession first. After that we will go through a short and sweet leveling-out period.

The real trouble is likely to start somewhere around 1951. That is when we can expect wide unemployment and economic breakdown. That is when the double danger of fascism and communism will have its next big chance. When that time comes, the happy economic world which Mr. Moley

represents will be no more than a delightful picturesque bit of history and we will recall it with the same bittersweet smile with which we will remember if not the New Deal at least the New Look.

Let there be no mistake about it, communism is organized desperation and the cooks of economic "stand pattism" are handing the Communists a thick hunk of boom-and-bust on a silver platter decorated with bits of grass that never did grow in the streets of the United States of America, and garnished prettily with several highly polished apples.

The Communists are confident that capitalism is too stupid to look out for itself. They are betting that capitalism is going to break its neck and that it will never know why.

Well, how about it? Can the American economic system save itself from disaster? Can it prevent the economic chaos which would result in a new rise of communism and fascism and the triumph of the Russia-first boys in the victory of the flag waving, nationalist crusaders.

I see but one way out and it's pretty late even for that. The answer is, regulated capitalism. I repeat, regulated capitalism.

Regulated Capitalism. Mr. Thomas probably feels that I want to perpetuate the system which he considers is dead or dying. I frankly don't care what labels we use—whether it is social democ-

racy which is as different from communism as a nightingale is from a vulture, or whether we call it, as I do, regulated capitalism.

However, I do feel this about Mr. Thomas and his Socialist Party. They are out of touch with the moods and the hopes of the American people. They haven't learned a thing during the past twenty years. Their political slogans have the freshness and the vigor of the Charleston. They are as up to date as Clara Bow and the Model-T Ford.

Mr. Thomas and his little band of followers have been highly respected for years and years and years, but they would have been very much less respectable to economic conservatives if they had ever gotten anywhere.

All of us here tonight and probably most of you—(Mr. Thomas is applauding me; he hasn't gotten anywhere and he knows it.) All of us want to prevent the chaos which would give the enemies of democracy their next big chance. We differ only on the best way of doing that.

I believe that we can improve our chance of survival during the coming economic crisis if we refuse to yield to the propaganda of Communists and Fascists alike. The Fascists tell us that we must team up with them—Mr. Birkhead will tell you more about their doings in a minute. The Communists tell us that we must follow their lead if we want to beat fascism.

But you and I know that they are trying to play us for suckers.

The Communists are very clever at that sort of thing. They are experienced at using man's most precious emotions for their own ends. They exploit love of peace and the basic good will of everyone of us to gain power and control for world communism.

It is a highly dangerous tragedy that Henry Wallace has forgotten these words of Franklin D. Roosevelt: "I do not welcome the support of any person or group committed to communism or fascism."

American capitalism must learn to regulate itself better or the Communists will do the regulating later on. Then perhaps Mr. Wallace will find himself in the role of President Benes of Czechoslovakia or of Foreign Minister Masaryk, whose life ended so tragically last week, unable to put the chains back on the communist giant.

Today Mr. Wallace is averting his eyes from the realities and dangers of Communism. His new party is competing with the Democratic donkey and the Republican elephant and the only animal symbol that would suit Mr. Wallace's party would be an ostrich with a nice long neck perpetually buried in a mountain of red sand. (*Applause.*)

Regulated capitalism, as I see it, will develop a system of insurance against the chaotic results of boom-and-bust economy. It will extend

social security to every wage earner. It will perfect its unemployment system. It will fight the evil of racial and religious discrimination.

It will break down all trends toward economic monopoly which is the arch enemy of small business. Probably all necessary insurance reform, for instance, health insurance, can be done by private companies.

But I'm not fooling myself about all this. I do not want to fool you. It is very nearly too late to avoid the economic chaos of the 1950's. The danger signs are becoming clearer every day. (*Applause.*)

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, Mr. Ebon. Our next speaker is one of the most vigorous opponents of Fascist principles in America. Aggressively he sought evidences of Fascism whenever it reared its ugly head. He is the alert director of an organization known as Friends of Democracy. Mr. Leon Birkhead. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Birkhead:

Which way America? It is certainly not toward the communism against which Mr. Ebon has so effectively warned us.

I do not believe that it is toward the socialism which Mr. Norman Thomas so eloquently presents us every now and then.

I regret to say that it is not toward Mr. Moley's democracy.

is toward an American variety of Fascism. My guess, however, is that I shouldn't use this term "democracy" because many people do not know what it means and besides the Communists have almost spoiled the use of the term by referring to all who oppose communism as Fascists.

Stuart Chase indicated in his book, *The Tyranny of Words*, that fascism is a term widely misunderstood and he quoted one Florida citizen who said that "Fascism is a Florida rattlesnake in the winter time."

The principle warning that we're receiving today, may I say, is not against fascism, however; it's against communism. In fact, we are opposing communism in this country almost to the point of hysteria. Surely Americans must favor an enlightened opposition to communism but we are, in our violent reaction against communism, swinging way over there to the right.

As William James once said, "We never have enough of anything in America without having too much of it." (*Applause.*)

That's just what we've got today—too much of this extreme rightism, too rapid a move in the direction of this American variation of fascism.

We're departing from the moderate, middle-of-the-road American way of life and moving over there to the extreme right. That is what E. T. Leach, the editor of the con-

servative *Pittsburgh Press* meant recently when he said in a warning to the American people, "If our American system of free enterprise ever is upset, the motive force need not necessarily come from the left. It just as easily could come from the right." That, it seems to me, is the direction in which we are to look for the threat today. We certainly do not want communism in the United States and we're not likely to get it. But neither do we want fascism in this country. (*Applause.*)

May I right here, so far as my remarks are concerned, clear up this matter of communism? I recall a statement attributed to Huey Long sometime ago, before his assassination, that when fascism comes to the United States, it will not be called fascism; it will be anti-fascist, anti-Nazi, anti-Communist. It will pass as 100 per cent Americanism.

Huey Long was right for the most part. This so-called 100 per cent Americanism about which he spoke and with which we are somewhat familiar in this country, has added a few dashes of ideas to its ideology in recent times. The idea of racism, for example, has been expanded considerably as a result of the impact of Hitler's propaganda so that traditional prejudices of anti-Negroism and anti-Catholicism have been joined with anti-Semitism and Aryan supremacy. Witness the rise of the white supremacy clubs and the re-

vival of the Ku Klux Klan in the South.

As a part of this 100 per cent Americanism pattern, we have extreme nationalism and isolationism—both cynical and defeatist with regard to any sort of world co-operation. Included also in this pattern is the indiscriminate use of the word "Communist," applying it, not only to real Communists, where it belongs, but also to liberals, progressives, Jews, international bankers, foreigners and refugees.

I've heard Mr. Thomas referred to as a Communist—a Socialist being a slow Communist, or a Communist being a Socialist in a hurry. *(Laughter.)*

Of course, those who follow this line, this pattern, slander also all labor organizations and say that the labor organizations are dominated by racketeers, or Communists, or both.

Also, these 100 per cent Americans advocate something like a one-party system, which is familiar to us who know the history of fascism. The idea is that the 100 per centers belong to the true, loyal, American party, and all other political parties are treasonable and un-American. And, of course, these "antis," these 100 per centers, these "aginers" are against Democracy, too. This is not a Democracy, they say, it's a Republic. Democracy is practically synonymous with communism and mobocracy. Possibly Mr. Moley

will clear up this definition for us.

Which way America? Which way America? I regret to say that it's toward the American variety of fascism. *(Applause.)*

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, Mr. Birkhead. Now you fellows that have been twisting Norman Thomas better start back. I know you're all going to be interested in hearing what Norman Thomas and Raymond Moley are going to say now—13 years later—on this subject.

It's scarcely necessary for me to remind you that Mr. Norman Thomas has been a standard-bearer and spokesman for his party ever since most of us can remember. He's the chairman of the Postwar World Council, and a vigorous fighter for the viewpoints which he believes. As his record indicates, he is one of the most popular speakers on this forum. He is also a trustee of Town Hall. Mr. Norman Thomas. *(Applause.)*

Mr. Thomas:

I find it hard to understand why my predecessors spend so much time, when they have so much to explain, in indulging in rather poor figures of speech concerning me. Now, I've got more important things to talk about. *(Laughter.)*

I talk, not of the evil I fear, but of the good way America should go. At the first of the series of these meetings, which Mr. Denny has made so successful, I said "There can be no understanding

of a positive and constructive program of socialism except on a basis of understanding that by the operation of forces inherent in our capitalist nationalist system, that system has done its work, that it is rapidly disintegrating, that it brings us toward chaos and can only be prolonged under the impetus of mass insanity and the brutality of fascism. Even then it is not the older capitalism, but state capitalism which will survive."

The years have tragically fulfilled that prediction. International communism and alliance with Russian imperialism, has become more of a power than I feared, and far more truly has earned the description "Red Fascism."

A world far hungrier than in 1935 spends some 15 billion dollars more on an armament race than in 1935, after the total victory of allegedly peace-loving nations.

In a revived Europe, there is no alternative to a high degree of collectivism. In fortunate America, the cycle boom-to-bust moves relentlessly on. Men talk of free enterprise in which none of them believes.

The question at issue is the amount and kind of planning. Shouting against planning, political leaders compete in plans for European economic recovery, plans for the control of inflation, plans for housing and health — all of

them inadequate, but all of them plans.

Meanwhile, we who accomplished miracles in the production of battleships and bombers, can't adequately supply ourselves with schools or hospitals or homes. (*Applause.*) Yet we, and to a lesser extent the world, have at our doorsteps the resources, and, in our hands, the tools that could conquer poverty.

We, who might be free of the fear of the economic insecurity which made bitter the life of so many thousand generations, live in a terror they never knew—the terror of self-destruction by the forces which we have harnessed, not to life, but to death.

Over vast areas, men and women are caught in the struggle for power between a reaction potentially fascist and communist totalitarianism. There is no salvation, except by the rise of a third force, and that force can only be democratic socialism.

Outside of the United States and Canada, in Great Britain, New Zealand, Australia, the Scandinavian countries, France, Belgium and Holland, there is no strong democratic movement which is not also socialistic.

The time has come when, to use our modern technology efficiently, men must plan and increasingly plan in world-wide terms. They can plan more easily when the people collectively own the commanding heights of the economic

order, and administer them under public authority, in which they, as consumers and workers, are directly represented.

The argument used to be that only a laissez faire capitalism could efficiently produce. So empty has that argument become, that on this very platform, I have debated spokesmen for capitalist interests who have scarcely mentioned economics, but have made the platform slippery with their tears for liberty — they whom I had never met anywhere when the fight was hot for freedom.

In our day, Mr. Moley, democracy is not an alternative to socialism—socialism is a necessary expression of democracy. The totalitarian state was not a socialist invention. It was the product of the breakdown of the capitalist-nationalist system, of war for profit and power, of the subordination of human interest to the national military state.

It is sheer hypocrisy to say that liberty is bound up with a system which extravagantly rewards men with profit and power as a result of their lucky choices of grandfathers, corner lots or shares of stock; a system under which a handful of steel magnates, enjoying exorbitant profits, can jeopardize the economy of their country —no, of the world—by an arbitrary price rise.

If democracy, in Lincoln's great phrase, is "government of the people, by the people, and for the

people," it means something different from government of workers by bosses, for the profits of absentee owners. If any man is good enough to be President of the United States—a fact which has some support in American history—surely the common man, a worker and consumer, is good enough to have a voice in the administration of the basic enterprises which so largely control his life.

Socialist planning in no way jeopardizes vital civil liberties. Arguments to the contrary, drawn from Europe, overlook the fact that it was the catastrophic breakdown of the old order which led to emergency controls and not the logic of socialism.

So desperate is the world's plight that the human race will survive only as it proves able, in response to challenge, to establish democratic and cooperative control of the economic processes by which men live. That is socialism. (Applause.)

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, Mr. Thomas. Thirteen years ago, Mr. Moley, one of the originators of the New Deal was just breaking away from a group of braintrusts and launching out on his own as the editor of *Today*, which later became absorbed by *Newsweek*. He is now one of the editors of *Newsweek* and I understand that his column next week will embody much

his speech tonight. Well, Mr. Moley, welcome back to Town Meeting. Raymond Moley. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Moley:

Mr. Denny, it's going to be easier for me tonight than it was thirteen years ago, because all of us tonight are friends of democracy. We're all in the same boat—that's democracy. Tonight I'd be willing to settle for my speech of thirteen years ago. You all remember that night and that speech. Well, neither do I. (*Laughter.*)

Today, the most stable, durable, and powerful nation is the one that created on democratic principles—and watch this—a workable republican political system, and permitted its economic system to grow—watch this—without state control—a republic, as Mr. Birkhead says. (*Applause.*)

I can't draw a glib picture of an ideal state. We're living in a democratic state and it is not ideal. I can't tingle your feelings with the opiate of escapism, because we are where we are, and where I hope we will remain.

Democracy didn't emerge in this world as the blueprint of a great law-giver. Nobody thought it up. It had no Karl Marx. It emerged from the great surge of evolution. Viewed in the large, society is composed of whirling atoms. These atoms cluster and break and cluster again. Human beings and motions pull away from irritations and seek

agreeable attachments. They accommodate themselves, adjust, and readjust ways of living.

Individual initiative under democracy can act to join the like-minded in an effort to gain common rights. In a society made up of many groups, each cannot get all that it wants, but there can be attained, under a form of endeavor agreed upon in advance, what collective strength can secure and what other groups can be persuaded to grant.

I was asked thirteen years ago in the meeting if I believed in collective bargaining. The Wagner Act at that moment was before Congress. It was passed. After years, it was revealed that under it there was a lot of collecting but darned little bargaining. The majority, at the polls, decreed a change. The Act was amended to correct injustice.

That is democracy—eternally in change, vital, moving, flexible. Essential to this vital process is freedom of thought and of speech. I don't need to remind this audience of the fact that only under democracy is this freedom safe. It is not what we say, but the fact that we can say it.

Democracy didn't create capitalism, nor capitalism democracy, but capitalism as a productive process can be controlled under a democracy. It's a fruitful tree despite the pests that grow on its leaves and branches. Under democracy it can be sprayed and pruned.

Under alternative systems it must be destroyed.

Now, Norman Thomas has put aside tonight government ownership of this and that. I hope you noticed that. He's now talking about planning. Well, whoever contended that a democratic government couldn't plan? If I can speak for democracy tonight, I can also speak as one of the most active planners of the Roosevelt Administration for three years.

In those years we planned *with* private business, labor, and agriculture. When Roosevelt started to plan *for* business, labor, and agriculture, I left him, because that was the prelude to socialism. But Thomas ran against him no matter how he planned.

Democracy plans *with* not *for*.

One word from Mr. Ebon who has suggested regulating capitalism. That's a new one. I helped to put into law the AAA, the SEC, the FDIC, the TVA, the CCC, the Social Security, and a dozen other measures, regulating capitalism. I didn't just talk regulation, Norman, I was chief of the group that planned and put regulation through.

I'm no summer soldier or sunshine patriot of progressive legislation; I stood for regulation when it hurt. I carry the scars of 1933. I stood for regulated capitalism. And that was democracy.

Which way, America? The democratic way, and the remedy

for the evils of democracy is more democracy. (*Applause.*)

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, Mr. Moley. After speaking of those agencies, then you might call Mr. Moley not just a man of letters but a man of many letters.

Mr. Ebon, will you and Mr. Thomas and Mr. Birkhead and Mr. Moley join us up here around the microphone now for a little discussion before we get the audience into this? We haven't heard from you for a little while, Mr. Ebon.

Mr. Ebon: Well, I have a question for Mr. Thomas. I want to ask you this, Mr. Thomas. During the war against the Nazis, the Fascists, and Japanese militarists, you spent much of your time calling the democratic war effort an imperialist war. That was the line which the Communists had before Germany attacked Russia and also looked very much like the sort of thing which the super-isolationists followed, the appeasers, and the people who wanted to make peace with fascism.

Of course, your motives were splendid. They were idealist and pacifist and they were your idea of orthodox Marxism. There is no question about that. But with all that stripped away from it, you did in effect play into the hands of the people who wanted America weakened—into the hands of the enemies of democracy.

Well, Mr. Thomas, if there is

war with Russia, would you then do the same thing all over again? I again ask you, would you again call it an imperialist war—the war between Russia and capitalist-imperialism? Would you again play into the hands of the totalitarian enemies of democracy?

Mr. Thomas: That's a rather long question—not a correct statement of facts. It would take more time than we've got to go over it

in detail. I will simply say this—that I have never once regretted trying to keep America out of war. I have never once regretted that when America was in war that I stood for a kind of peace which might have averted the present tragedy. It was not I who was for a peace of appeasement. I was not I who was for a Morgenthau plan.

As for what I shall do about

THE SPEAKERS' COLUMN

LEON M. BIRKHEAD—Dr. Birkhead was a clergyman until 1937 when he founded and became the director of Friends of Democracy. Born in Winfield, Missouri, in 1885, he received his A.B. from McKendree College at Lebanon, Illinois. He attended Drew Theological Seminary, and Union Theological Seminary and the graduate school of Columbia University. From 1904 until 1910, he was a student preacher in Illinois. For two years, he served as assistant minister of Grace M. E. Church in New York City, and for two more as associate minister of Maple Avenue Church in St. Louis.

Dr. Birkhead's other pastoral charges were at Wagner Memorial M. E. Church in St. Louis; First Unitarian Church, Wichita, Kansas; and All Souls Unitarian Church, Kansas City, Missouri. In 1937, he founded the Friends of Democracy and is still the national director.

NORMAN THOMAS — Best known of American Socialists, Norman Thomas was the candidate of his party for President in 1928, 1932, 1936, 1940, and 1944. Born in Ohio, he received an A.B. degree at Princeton and a B.D. at Union Theological Seminary. Following his ordination as a Presbyterian minister in 1911, he served in several New York City churches until 1931, when he deeded the ministry.

In 1918, Mr. Thomas founded the *World Tomorrow* which he edited for three years. His success with this publication led him in 1921 to become editor for one year of *The Nation*.

Mr. Thomas is chairman of the executive committee of the Post-War World Council. He is the author of many maga-

zine articles and numerous books. Among his books are *The Conscientious Objector in America*, later reprinted under the title, *Is Conscience a Crime?*; *America's Way Out—A Program for Democracy*; *As I See It* (with Paul Blanchard); *War—No Profit, No Glory, No Need; Socialism on the Defensive*; *We Have a Future*, and *Appeal to the Nations*.

RAYMOND MOLEY — Author, journalist, professor, and former Assistant Secretary of State, Mr. Moley was born in Berea, Ohio, in 1886. His degrees include Ph.B. from Baldwin-Wallace College (Berea); A.M. from Oberlin; Ph.D. from Columbia; and LL.D. from Baldwin-Wallace and Washington and Jefferson. Before becoming a professor of public law at Columbia University in 1928, Mr. Moley had been school superintendent in Olmsted Falls, Ohio; a teacher at West High School, Cleveland, Ohio; instructor and assistant professor of politics at Western Reserve University; director of the Cleveland Foundation; and associate professor of government at Columbia.

In 1933, Mr. Moley served as Assistant Secretary of State. He was editor of *Today* from 1933 to 1937, and since 1937 has been an associate editor and columnist for *Newsweek*. Mr. Moley is the author of many books dealing with crime, government, and politics.

MARTIN EBON — Mr. Ebon, author of the recent book, *World Communism Today*, has worked for the State Department, the Office of War Information, and the Foreign Policy Association. During the war he was chief of the Foreign News Section, Overseas News and Feature Bureau of OWI. He is at present on the staff of the *Partisan Review*.

war with Russia, let circumstances determine. It is my passionate desire so to advance the cause of democracy, so to advance an understanding and an agreement among free nations, that we can avert a war in an atomic age in which I do not think there will be victors. That's the thing I stand for, and that's why I'm for democratic socialism. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Mr. Moley?

Mr. Moley: I'm afraid I'll have to come back at Norman, too. If you were elected President, as you may be in '48, Mr. Thomas (*laughter*), what would you nationalize in this country?

Mr. Thomas: Omitting jests and thanking my colleagues for knowing that I'm the one that's talking about something worth while and that has to be considered, remembering all that, my answer is this. What ought to be socialized—and I shall not be President; and Henry Wallace won't do it, and neither will Truman—what ought to be socialized are the natural resources of America. They were not given by God or nature to private profit seekers. We may yet by private ownership pay for blood in oil.

What ought to be socialized is the control of money, banking and currency. What ought to be socialized are great monopolies and oligarchies — the public utilities — all those enterprises in which the energy and the resource of the manager is more important than of the risk-taker. They should

be socialized under public corporations on which there is direct representation of consumers and producers. I wish I didn't have to explain this to Mr. Moley every time I see him. (*Laughter and applause.*)

Let me do a little asking now. I'd like to ask Mr. Moley if really he, a college professor, thinks that it's quite a square issue to debate democracy as against socialism, especially when, under guise of discussing democracy, he discusses a kind of capitalism that most capitalists would regard as fair, though not too intelligently, socialist? I can think of better ways to manage industry than all those letters he proudly bears the mark of. (*Applause and laughter.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Mr. Thomas. Mr. Moley?

Mr. Moley: That sounded like speech and not a question. The answer to your question is that just as many capitalists voted for the kind of socialism that Roosevelt put over in his first administration—

Mr. Thomas: When he followed our platform most nearly he badly.

Mr. Moley: When I was with him.

Mr. Thomas: Well, then what you did. (*Laughter.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Mr. Birkhead, we haven't heard from you for a while.

Mr. Birkhead: I wanted to remind the audience that the qu

tion tonight is "Which Way America?" Mr. Thomas is answering the question, "Which Way Ought America To Go?" What I'd like to ask him is whether or not he thinks that it's possible that America could by any stretch go the direction in which he is saying it ought to go?

Mr. Thomas: Yes, of course, it could. It must. It may not do it as fully as I'd like. It may do it under different names. If anybody thinks that democratic socialism is a Model-T Ford, where as regulated capitalism (*low-drawl*)—that sounds like a Cadillac—I won't discuss that too much. All I'll say is that unless you can get democracy in economics as well as in politics, democracy will fail, no matter how much preferable our imperfect democracy is to either black or red fascism.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. I'm sorry, Mr. Birkhead, thank you, very much. Now, while we get ready for our question period, I'm sure that you, our listeners will be interested in the following message.

Announcer: You are listening to "America's Town Meeting of the Air" originating in Town Hall, New York, where we're discussing the question, "Which Way America—Fascism, Communism, Socialism, or Democracy?" We are about to take questions from our representative Town Hall audience. If you would like a copy of tonight's broadcast, complete with the ques-

tions and answers to follow, send for the *Town Meeting Bulletin*, enclosing ten cents to cover the cost of printing and mailing. If you would like to subscribe to the Bulletin for six months, send \$2.35; for a year, send \$4.50. Just address *Town Hall, New York 18, New York*, and allow at least two weeks for delivery.

When disaster in any form strikes a community in the Nation or its possessions, the Red Cross goes into action at once to provide the basic needs of shelter, food, clothing, and medical care. After the emergency is over, Red Cross assists in rehabilitation of victims needing further help.

No part of the United States is immune from disaster. Last year, the worst disaster year in a decade, 46 States and Alaska were affected by disasters which totaled 289. During this period, the Red Cross allocated approximately \$11,000,000 for the relief of more than 300,000 persons. Catastrophes in 1947 seriously depleted Red Cross disaster funds; these must be replenished. The National Blood Program of the American Red Cross is being organized to provide sufficient quantities of blood and blood derivatives to the entire nation. Though the dollar has shrunk, human needs have not. Give generously to your American Red Cross. Now for our question period, we return you to Mr. Denny.

QUESTIONS, PLEASE!

Mr. Denny: Well, our attendants are in the aisles with portable microphones and members of the audience are holding up number cards indicating the speaker to whom their question is directed. We're going to take a question first tonight from up in the balcony. Yes. Go ahead.

Man: Mr. Thomas, does not the flexibility of our democratic government permit the necessary controls of capital, if necessary, to insure the benefits so claimed for socialism?

Mr. Thomas: As I understand that question, it is: Can you get socialism if you want it under the American Constitution? Yes, I think you could, but at the same time I'll tell you frankly, much as I like parts of the American Constitution — especially the Bill of Rights — we need to do some amending of the Constitution. Even if you're not a socialist you ought to admit it. The present revolt of the Southern governors shows the extraordinary danger of our method of electing a President, which could create crisis.

The everlasting deadlocks between the President and Congress could create crisis.

What changes ought to be made in the Constitution? That's a question worth discussion.

I am simply willing to say that if the people care enough, they can take the necessary steps to

make a democratic-socialist America under the Constitution, but, in any case, for the sake of democracy, they ought to amend the Constitution. We ought to elect President by direct vote of the people and that's democracy, Mr. Moley. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. A question for Mr. Ebon.

Lady: Mr. Ebon, since the tendency today is toward government control, how far can we let things advance before endangering individual freedoms essential to democratic life?

Mr. Ebon: Government control should be extended to certain things that go slightly beyond what we have now. You do have such things happening, for example, Greater Boston takes control of its municipal transit system and we all have telephone nationalization and postal nationalization, and things of that sort.

You should go slightly beyond that wherever you have public interest actually taking superiority over private interest. You'll have to decide that preferably, perhaps by direct vote, or plebiscite, so that the people have a voice in the nationalization.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Now the gentleman way back under the balcony.

Man: My question is addressed to Mr. Birkhead. As I understand

your speaking, you propose that there should be a middle of the road program. I ask you isn't that exactly the program that was adopted by the leaders in Czechoslovakia?

Mr. Birkhead: No, that is not. I advocate an opposition—a strong opposition to both the extreme right and the extreme left—both to communism and fascism. The leaders in Czechoslovakia, unfortunately, tried to appease the left.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Now the gentleman over on this aisle, in the gray suit.

Man: Mr. Moley, why all the propaganda about the danger of communism in the press and radio and little or no talk about the danger of fascism? (*Applause.*)

Mr. Moley: You won't find any discrimination in any part of the press with which I have any connection on that subject. They are both dangerous and they are both adequately cared for, perhaps a little bit too hysterically. I believe in a little calmness about both of these things because I really have some faith in the country of ours. We're not going to pass out tomorrow in spite of what you've heard. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Question from the third row. Yes, sir.

Man: Mr. Ebon, please. Since I agree with what you say, I should like to elaborate on one thing further. Are you in favor of outlawing the communist party?

Mr. Ebon: I am not in favor of

outlawing the communist party because it does not work. It has been tried in countries like Canada; it has been tried in Switzerland; it has been tried in Brazil; it has been tried in Australia. It has never worked because the communists are able to go underground and reband the communist party. They'll simply make the third party or something else their front and operate as they did before.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. The gentleman here.

Man: Norman Thomas. How long can we prevent the chaos of war by supporting social democracy abroad and maintaining capitalism at home?

Mr. Denny: Mr. Thomas. That was last week's subject, but let's hear your comment on it.

Mr. Thomas: My comment is this: That I am not a predictor of exact times. I do say that we shall have to come to more economic democracy at home in order to be able to support it adequately abroad. I know how inadequate are my answers to such big questions. I can only tell Mr. Moley, for instance, that if he really wants to know the answers that if he'll write to me at 303 Fourth Avenue, New York, I'll give him plenty of information. I'll even remind him, in giving him information, that sometimes he's too optimistic. I'll hand him what he said about us and Russia in 1945 on the 10th anniversary. He said: "Many in-

cidental irritations now still exist between Russia and the United States. Most of these need time and a little patience." I thought then, and I think now, that the differences were fundamental, that they need not mean war, but they needed positive dealing and I say that the evils of capitalism need positive dealing and not just vague optimism.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. The lady over there on the other side.

Lady: Mr. Birkhead. Since economic shifts of political pressure have changed European forms of government, how can our Nation resist fascism or communism without resorting to the battlefield?

Mr. Birkhead: Why, I think if I understand the question correctly, it isn't a matter of resorting to the battlefield. This battle is going to be fought out in the area of public opinion, of propaganda, in the war of words, I think, so far as we're concerned as a nation. All I advocate is that we take Mr. Moley's ideas of democracy and effectively propagate that point of view against both the extreme right and the extreme left.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Now the young man in the balcony.

Man: Mr. Ebon. How could your system of regulated capitalism work in a society which is undemocratic and unplanned?

Mr. Ebon: Well, it wouldn't be regulated capitalism, you know, if it were completely unplanned and unregulated, because regulations

are plans and plans are regulations, and all that sort of thing.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Let's take the gentleman on the front row there. Front row balcony. Mr. Thomas, it's for you.

Man: Mr. Thomas, if we adopt socialism as have the British, who will pay for the results as we are about to pay for theirs? (Applause.)

Mr. Thomas: I rejoice in this question because I want to stand on this platform and say a word for one of the bravest, most intelligent attempts ever made in history, and that's the attempt by the British people, in the face of an utterly changed world situation, after two World Wars that cost them most of their foreign holdings. After a decrepit capitalism had failed even to keep up its machinery, this Britain, in a world of inflation, which it is not by any means chiefly responsible for, not perfect, but this Britain, in spite of everything, has raised production, it has kept peace, it has preserved its civil liberties, it has dividing up food and short supplies, primarily for the benefit of women and children and the future, as no nation ever did.

I would be proud if, in the face of similar difficulties, my country should do so well. We are not paying for British socialism. We are paying for the crimes and blunders of British imperialism, or rabid nationalism everywhere, for the

failure of the world to wake up and act in time. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Mr. Ebon has a comment to that.

Mr. Ebon: I want to go along with Mr. Thomas on this because we've been on different sides of the question before. I agree with him wholeheartedly on everything that he has said. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you, and now—

Mr. Thomas: I thought there was good in the man, after all. (*Laughter.*)

Mr. Denny: Who says Town Meeting speakers can't get together? Now the young man in the balcony.

Man: Mr. Moley. It is agreed that American democracy is not perfect. Therefore, would it be wise to benefit from the political experience of Western European countries?

Mr. Moley: As I see the Western European countries, and as I contemplate my own country, I don't believe I would want to imitate anything they've done. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. The gentleman back there with the red tie. Yes?

Man: Mr. Birkhead. Is not fascism less a threat today than it was thirteen years ago? Is not communism, therefore, a more immediate and definite danger?

Mr. Birkhead: No. On the world level, communism of course is a very serious threat, but on the

national level, as I indicated, we're moving toward the right. We're having the Gerald L. K. Smiths and such people inviting us to walk into their arms so that these extreme rightists can save us from communism. That's the danger today—from the extreme right, not the extreme left. We're taking care of the communists. We're throwing them out of the unions and deported the alien ones, but where did you ever hear of our doing anything about these 100 per centers, the Ku Klux Klan? (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Yes, sir. The gentleman right there in the brown suit.

Man: May I ask Mr. Thomas to kindly enlighten the audience on the difference, if there is any, between fascism and communism?

Mr. Denny: Between fascism and communism? Your comment, Mr. Thomas.

Mr. Thomas: In origin, there was a great difference between fascism and communism, but such is the logic of totalitarianism and the totalitarian state that, in action, the differences are small and slight. Fascism usually, and at its worst, has been racist, as official communism has not. Otherwise, it was communism and not fascism which invented the worst techniques of government by cruelty, by slave camps, and by the denial of civil liberty.

I agree with Ignazio Silone—not as a matter of rhetoric, I'm

sorry to say, but sober description—communism, whatever it was originally, is today Red fascism. (Applause.)

Lady: Dr. Birkhead. How can we reach the element that is aroused by the rabel-rousers such as Gerald L. K. Smith and the others who do not read and they simply come to listen to those that will arouse the beast in them? How can we reach them and educate them so that they will become true Americans and not—

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Thank you, very much. We've got the idea. Mr. Birkhead?

Mr. Birkhead: Just reproduce the Town Meeting everywhere in the country and discuss these questions. Do a better job of propagandizing and intelligent rabel-rousing than the blind rabel rousers do.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. The gentleman over there on the aisle. Quickly please.

Man: Mr. Ebon, under regulated capitalism, how would you deal with the steel industry for refusing to enlarge its producing capacity?

Mr. Ebon: How about nationalizing it?

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Right here on the aisle.

Man: Mr. Thomas. Productivity is the universal yardstick of economic success. Our capitalistic economy boasts higher productivity than any planned economy. Does this fact point to economic dis-

integration of our capitalist economy?

Mr. Thomas: The particular fact that you cited without giving it its content does not point to economic disintegration. There are a lot of facts you left out. What worries me about America is that some Americans who sought to be thankful to whatever God they worship for their good fortune are so content to be better off than China or even England and so little concerned about the abolition of illiteracy, about hospitals, about homes, about a world in which tonight so many people don't go to bed, worrying because they may have to borrow money from a sponsor. (Applause.)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Now while our speakers prepare the summaries for tonight's question here is a personal message of interest to you.

Announcer: Before we have our final word by way of summary from each of our four speakers let us remind you that in the last analysis, it is you, the American people, who will determine just how tonight's question will be resolved. Important as are the opinions of these informed experts, what you think, what you see and what you do about the problem is even more important.

You are apt to assume that it doesn't matter what just one person thinks about this question, but it does matter. As a Town Meeting listener you can exercise t

mendous influence in your community and circle of friends by demonstrating week after week your ability to think honestly and objectively about the problems we face. You may not be a Congressman, a political boss or an editorial writer but there are many ways in which you can exercise influence including letters to the local press, participation in forums and discussion groups and through intelligent conversation with your friends. By exercising your influence in your community, you influence the decisions of this nation for that is how democracy works in America.

Now for the summaries of tonight's discussion, here is Mr. Denny.

Mr. Denny: Now our first summary from Leon Birkhead.

Mr. Birkhead: My point of view is that we have here in America the raw materials of fascism, anti-semitism, anti-Negroism, anti-labor, anti-liberal, extreme nationalism, super-nationalism and all the rest that fits into that pattern. We have a soil in which there is a tremendous amount of prejudice—three-fourths of the American people being prejudiced against some one minority or another; 36 per cent of the people believing that the Jews have too much economic power and 21 per cent believing that they have too much political power. That, it seems to me, represents a dangerous trend in this

country and may mean fascism for us.

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Mr. Birkhead. Now, Mr. Moley.

Mr. Moley: I'm not unaware of trends. I'm not unaware of dangers. But, with Justice Holmes, I believe there is vitality in this country that will sustain the future. I don't know that I need to give any evidence beyond the fact that this country is sustaining so much of the troubled world.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Now Mr. Ebon.

Mr. Ebon: All of us here tonight are agreed to fight against fascism and communism. In this fight, we must all stand together, fighting it on all levels—humanitarian, military, if necessary—and through every effort that this country can make internally and externally.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Now a final word from Norman Thomas.

Mr. Thomas: Men act and act greatly under a great faith. You will not successfully oppose the evils Mr. Birkhead denounces, you will not successfully oppose communism simply by thanking God that we are not as other men are but are democrats. You've got to make democracy mean something for our time, as Thomas Jefferson made it mean much for his time, or Andrew Jackson, or Abraham Lincoln. I see no way to do it, whatever name you want to call it, than the thing I like to call democratic socialism. (*Applause.*)

APR 2 1948

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Norman Thomas, Raymond Moley, Martin Ebon, and Leon Birkhead. Thanks, too, to this fine audience, for your grand contribution to the program.

On this occasion I want to pay tribute especially to my associates, Mrs. Marian Carter out on the West Coast now, and Mrs. Elizabeth Colclough, her successor, our program directors for so many of the 500, and to their predecessor, Mr. Leon Levine and to Mr. Robert Saudek, our program associate of the American Broadcasting Company.

Now remember if you want a copy of this discussion complete with questions and answers, you may obtain it by sending 10 cents to Town Hall, New York 18, New York. Don't forget to enclose the

10 cents. The address is Town Hall, New York 18, New York.

Next week, our 501st broadcast will be on the subject, "Should the President's Civil Rights Program Be Adopted?" Our speakers will be Senator John J. Sparkman, Democrat of Alabama; Senator Wayne Morse, Republican from the State of Oregon; Roger Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union; and Mr. Donald R. Richberg, attorney and former chairman of the NRA Board 1943.

Be a Town Crier yourself and use the modern Town Crier's bell. Call your friends on the telephone and remind them of this important broadcast next week at this time. Make your own plans to be with us every Tuesday at the sound of the Crier's Bell. (*Applause.*)

CORRECTION: In Town Meeting Bulletin March 9, 1948, page 14, column 1, paragraph 4, Senator Brewster meant to say: "Now I understood Mr. Crowther and Mr. Krueger to say that they weren't to blame."

AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR

American Broadcasting Company Stations Carrying Town Meeting

8:30 to 9:30 P.M.*—EASTERN TIME ZONE

City	Call Letters	City	Call Letters
Montreal, Quebec	CFCF	Olean, N. Y.	WHDL
Bridgeport, Conn.	WNAB	Plattsburg, N. Y.	WMFF
Hartford, Conn.	WTHT	Poughkeepsie, N. Y.	WKIP
New Haven, Conn.	WELI	Rochester, N.Y.	WARC
Stamford, Conn.	WSTC	Saranac Lake, N.Y.	WNBZ
Waterbury, Conn.	WATR	Syracuse, N. Y.	WAGE
Washington, D.C.	WMAL	Utica, N.Y.	WRUN
Wilmington, Del.	WILM	Asheville, N. C.	WNCA
Daytona Beach, Fla.	WMFJ	Charlotte, N. C.	WAYS
Jacksonville, Fla.	WPDQ	Gastonia, N. C.	WGNC
Miami, Fla.	WQAM	Hickory, N. C.	WHKY
Orlando, Fla.	WHOO	High Point, N. C.	WMFR
Palm Beach, Fla.	WWPG	Kinston, N. C.	WFTC
Pensacola, Fla.	WBSR	Raleigh, N.C.	WNAO
St. Petersburg, Fla.	WSUN	Rocky Mount, N. C.	WEED
Tallahassee, Fla.	WRHP	Wilmington, N. C.	WMFD
Atlanta, Ga.	WCON	Winston-Salem, N. C.	WAIR
Augusta, Ga.	WGAC	Akron, Ohio	WAKR
Cedartown, Ga.	WGAA	Canton, Ohio	WHBC
Columbus, Ga.	WDAK	Cincinnati, Ohio	WSAI
Macon, Ga.	WBML	Cleveland, Ohio	WJW
Savannah, Ga.	WDAR	Columbus, Ohio	WCOL
West Point, Ga.	WRLD	Dayton, Ohio	WINN
Bangor, Me.	WGUY	Mansfield, Ohio	WMAN
Lewiston, Me.	WLAM	Marion, Ohio	WMRN
Portland, Me.	WPOR	Springfield, Ohio	WIZE
Waterville, Me.	WTVL	Toledo, Ohio	WTOL
Baltimore, Md.	WFBR	Youngstown, Ohio	WFMJ
Hagerstown, Md.	WARK	Altoona, Pa.	WRTA
Boston, Mass.	WCOP	erie, Pa.	WLEU
Hyannis, Mass.	WOCB	Harrisburg, Pa.	WHGB
Lawrence, Mass.	WLAW	Johnstown, Pa.	WCRO
New Bedford, Mass.	WNBH	Philadelphia, Pa.	WFIL
Pittsfield, Mass.	WBEC	Pittsburgh, Pa.	WCAE
Springfield, Mass.	WSPR	Scranton, Pa.	WARM
Worcester, Mass.	WORC	Wilkes Barre, Pa.	WILK
Ann Arbor, Mich.	WHRV	Providence, R. I.	WFCI
Battle Creek, Mich..	WELL	Charleston, S. C.	WHAN
Bay City, Mich.	WBCM	Columbia, S. C.	WCOS
Detroit, Mich.	WXYZ	Florence, S. C.	WOLS
Flint, Mich.	WFDF	Greenville, S. C.	WMRC
Grand Rapids, Mich.	WLAV	Spartanburg, S. C.	WORD
Jackson, Mich.	WIBM	Burlington, Vt.	WJOY
Kalamazoo, Mich.	WGFG	Charlottesville, Va.	WCHV
Lansing, Mich.	WJIM	Covington, Va.	WKEY
Ludington, Mich.	WKLA	Danville, Va.	WBTM
Muskegon Mich.	WKBZ	Fredericksburg, Va.	WFVA
Sault Ste. Marie, Mich.	WSOO	Lynchburg, Va.	WLVA
Manchester, N. H.	WMUR	Norfolk, Va.	WGH
Atlantic City, N. J.	WFPG	Richmond, Va.	WRNL
Albany, N. Y.	WOKO	Roanoke, Va.	WSLS
Buffalo, N. Y.	WKBW	Staunton, Va.	WTON
Elmira, N. Y.	WELM	Suffolk, Va.	WLPM
Endicott, N.Y.	WENE	Winchester, Va.	WINC
Glens Falls, N. Y.	WGLEN	Charleston, W. Va.	WKNA
Jamestown, N. Y.	WJTN	Huntington, W. Va.	WSAZ
Massena, N. Y.	WMSA	Parkersburg, W. Va.	WCOM
New York, N. Y.	WJZ	Wheeling, W. Va.	WKWK

7:30 to 8:30 P.M.*Local Time—CENTRAL TIME ZONE

City	Call Letters	City	Call Letters
Anniston, Ala.	WHMA	Mobile, Ala.	WMOB
Birmingham, Ala.	WSGN	Montgomery, Ala.	WAPX
Dothan, Ala.	WDIG	El Dorado, Ark.	KELD
Florence, Ala.	WJOI	Fort Smith, Ark.	KFSA
Gadsden, Ala.	WGNH	Hot Springs, Ark.	KTHS
Huntsville, Ala.	WHBS	Little Rock, Ark.	KGHI
		Pensacola, Fla.	WBSR
		Bloomington, Ill.	WJBC

*Time subject to change.

AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR

American Broadcasting Company Stations Carrying Town Meeting

(Continued)

City	Call Letters	City	Call Letters
Chicago, Ill.	WENR	Ardmore, Oklahoma	KVSO
Peoria, Ill.	WIRL	Enid, Oklahoma	KCRO
Rockford, Ill.	WROK	Lawton, Oklahoma	KSWO
Rock Island, Ill.	WHBF	McAlester, Okla.	KTMC
Springfield, Ill.	WCVS	Muskogee, Okla.	KBIX
Anderson, Ind.	WHBU	Oklahoma City, Okla.	KTOK
Fort Wayne, Ind.	WOWO	Shawnee, Okla.	KGFF
Indianapolis, Ind.	WISH	Tulsa, Okla.	KOME
South Bend, Ind.	WHOT	Yankton, S. D.	WNAX
Terre Haute	WTHI	Chattanooga, Tenn.	WDEF
Burlington, Iowa	KBUR	Jackson, Tenn.	.WTJS
Des Moines, Iowa	KRNT	Johnson City, Tenn.	WJHL
Dubuque, Iowa	WKBB	Knoxville, Tenn.	WBIR
Shenandoah, Iowa	KMA	Memphis, Tenn.	WMPS
Waterloo, Iowa	KXEL	Nashville, Tenn.	WSIX
Coffeyville, Kans.	KGFF	Amarillo, Texas	KFDA
Lawrence, Kans.	WREN	Austin, Texas	KNOW
Wichita, Kans.	KFBI	Beaumont, Texas	KFDM
Lexington, Ky.	WLAP	Big Spring, Texas	KBST
Louisville, Ky.	WINN	Brownsville, Texas	KVAL
Alexandria, La.	KALB	Corpus Christi, Texas	KSIX
Baton Rouge, La.	WLCS	Dallas and Ft. Worth, Texas	KGKO
Monroe, La.	KMLB	Houston, Texas	KXYZ
New Orleans, La.	WDSU	Longview, Texas	KFRO
Shreveport, La.	KRMD	Lubbock, Texas	KFYO
Albert Lea, Minn.	KATE	Paris, Texas	KPLT
Minneapolis, Minn.	WTCN	San Angelo, Texas	KGKL
Willmar, Minn.	KWLM	San Antonio, Texas	KABC
Winona, Minn.	KWNO	Texarkana, Texas	KCMC
Gulfport, Miss.	WGCM	Waco, Texas	WACO
Jackson, Miss.	WSLI	Wichita Falls, Texas	KFDX
Meridian, Miss.	WTOK	Green Bay, Wis.	WDUZ
Columbia, Mo.	KFRU	LaCrosse, Wis.	WLXC
Kansas City, Mo.	KCMO	Madison, Wisc.	WISC
Springfield, Mo.	KWTO	Milwaukee, Wisc.	WEMP
St. Louis, Mo.	KXOK	Oshkosh, Wisc.	WOSH
Lincoln, Nebr.	KFOR	Racine, Wisc.	WRIN
Omaha, Nebr.	KOIL	Sheboygan, Wisc.	WHBL
Fargo, N.D.	KFGO	Superior, Wisc.	WDMS
Ada, Oklahoma	KADA	(Duluth, Minn.)	

8:30 to 9:30 P.M.* Local Time—MOUNTAIN TIME ZONE

Phoenix, Ariz.	KPHO	Butte, Mont.	KOPR
Tucson, Ariz.	KOPO	Albuquerque, N. M.	KOAT
Denver, Colorado	KVOD	Gallup, N. M.	KGAK
Pueblo, Colorado	KGHF	Las Vegas, N. M.	KFUN
Boise, Idaho	KGEM	Santa Fe., N. M.	KTRC
Burley, Idaho	KBIO	Salt Lake City, Utah	KUTA
Idaho Falls, Idaho	KIFI	Casper, Wyoming	KVOC
Pocatello, Idaho	KEIO	Cheyenne, Wyoming	KFOC
Twin Falls, Idaho	KLIX	Rawlins, Wyoming	KRAL

9:00 to 10:00 P.M.* Local Time—PACIFIC COAST TIME ZONE

City	Call Letters	City	Call Letters
Bakersfield, Calif.	KPMC	Stockton, Calif.	KWG
Brawley, Calif.	KROP	Visalia, Calif.	KTCK
Eureka, Calif.	KHUM	Las Vegas, Nev.	KENO
Fresno, Calif.	KFRE	Reno, Nev.	KWRN
Hollywood, Calif.	KECA	Eugene, Oregon	KUGN
Indio, Calif.	KREO	Klamath Falls, Ore.	KFLW
Sacramento, Calif.	KFBK	Portland, Ore.	KEX
San Bernardino	KITO	Bellingham, Wash.	KVOS
San Diego, Calif.	KFMB	Seattle, Wash.	KJH
San Francisco, Calif.	KGO	Spokane, Wash.	KGA
Santa Barbara, Calif.	KTMS	Wenatchee, Wash.	KPC
Santa Maria, Calif.	KCOY	Yakima, Wash.	KIT

*Time subject to change.